2; Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

have lived in the country of the Kittŏ Masai, since they are stated to have been the precursors of the Masai in this part of the world.

I was unable to elicit any folk-tales from the *Aramanik*, who say that they know no stories or legends except those they have learned from the Masai. It is possible that further efforts in this direction might meet with better success. The *Aramanik* are not as friendly or as ready to discuss their own affairs as are the cheerful, happy-go-lucky *Mdoiyo*.

Many Masai superstitions and superstitious practices are to be found among the Dorobo. There are, however, certain customs and observances of a superstitious nature practised only by the Dorobo. Of the following three examples, the last two given are in this category.

The *Mdoiyo* will not kill a python. They say it is a hunter of meat, as are they themselves. Furthermore, if it be killed, the ground where it dies and where its blood is split is ever afterwards fatal to cattle grazing there.[1] No explanation is given of this, and it would seem worthy of note that the Dorobo are exceptionally quick and skilful killers of all other snakes.

When following a native path or a road, if a Dorobo comes to the place where the track of a snake crosses the path, he will never step over it without first kicking up the sand or earth in order to break the continuity of the snake's track. This is done in order to avert evil, and is stated to be the only efficacious way of ensuring that the snake in question will not eventually kill the man who has crossed its path.[2]

If a Dorobo has been robbed and if the thief cannot be found, the following procedure is sometimes resorted to. The man who has suffered the loss heats his sword in the fire until it is red and then, plunging it into the earth, he says: "The thief shall die to-morrow." This is regarded as a very bad practice and is seldom indulged in, so the injured party, no matter how much he may have lost, knows that he will become extremely unpopular as a result of his action.

It seems likely that in a few years' time there will be no *Balakpa* and no *Kisyalakpai* Dorobo. As I have said elsewhere, it is now almost impossible to find *Balakpa* or *Kisya-*

[1] See Hollis: *The Masai*, p. 8n. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLA Dorobo FLA

a clear, windless sky. About 10 o'clock a curious whistling noise began to come from a certain part of the forest, and continued, on the same note, and without a break, for several hours. It was certainly no human or machine-made noise, and the Dorobo professed complete ignorance of it. A Nandi who had lived there before the Nandi War told me afterwards that it was an evil spirit whistling in the forest, "for we used to hear them whistling to each other like that in the forest when I was a child".

Between people and the things on which they depend for their existence both spiritual and material there is a connexion which is best expressed in terms of a ritual relationship. Things have a ritual value for people, and people themselves have a ritual status which is a relationship with their surroundings that can be altered for better or for worse according to the way in which they respect the ritual value of the things around them. Religion and magic form the procedure which protects these ritual values and status, while political organization is, in a sense, no more than an effort to maintain the ritual status of the horde in spite of the tendency of its members to injure their own ritual status and in consequence that of the horde also.

Certain things that a person does, whether voluntarily or involuntarily, cause deterioration of ritual status; but the original status may be recovered by the performance of certain ritual actions which may involve some personal effort or sacrifice. Examples of acts which cause loss of ritual status, and the means taken to restore it, are: (1) A girl who bears a child before marriage must have the undigested grass (*sirjat*) from the stomach of a goat rubbed over her face, neck, and breasts, and must then wash it off. (2) After a woman has given birth, she is in a condition of much reduced ritual status, and her husband must rub goat's fat and *sirjat* over her face, breasts, and body. (3) A man who has killed a Dorobo must have goat's fat rubbed all over him. (4) One who has killed an enemy must have stripes of white earth painted on his face. In all these cases the people have done something which causes loss of ritual status, making them ritually unclean (*saare* or *sonik*) and as a source of danger to others till they have been purified. The potential danger is removed by means of something which has a ritual value. Moreover, an essential element in the cleansing process is sacrifice, that is, the use of the material must either involve giving up something which is valued, or it must require some effort or even risk to get hold of. The *sirjat* or fat must be from a domestic animal: if the person concerned has one, he must use it; if he has none, then he must get one, and without delay, which for a Dorobo usually meant that he had to steal it, and thus risk getting killed while doing so. Therefore there is an act of faith in these magico-religious performances, and people believe so firmly in the efficacy of what they do that they are prepared to risk danger in order to get the necessary materials. The use of white earth may entail no more than a journey to get it, but that still means a personal effort on somebody's part. Materials which are used for the restoration of ritual status, and in consequence have a special ritual value, include: the flesh of goats, which is eaten when twins are born, and in cases of incest; *sirjat*, the undigested grass from the stomach of a ruminant (a sheep

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583 [439] are bought from th Masai for ivory, and finally half of the meat of a slain female lion of game approximately the size of a zebra. The mother of the bride and each of her brothers receive from the bridegroom a beehive apiece. Instead of the beehives the parents-in-law in some regions, especially where the Wandorobo live in close contact [40] with the Masai, receive iron wire. After receiving the gifts, the bridegroom and father-in-law reciprocally call each other ba-gesed, bridegroom and mother-in-law ba-ger, bridegroom and the brothers of the bride ba-sabe, according to ancient Masai custom.

583 [439] For beauties a higher price is paid. For a childless widow the usual price is pid, but only after the birth of the first child and after her father has returned to the heirs of her deceased husband the price received or her before her first marriage. For a widow who gave birth to gis only, no bride price is paid; instead, however, 583 the heir of her deceased husband keeps her daughters. Likewise nothing is paid for a woman driven out by her husband. If the bridegroom dies before the marriage, his brother takes the bride. [584] If the bride dies before the marriage or if the betrothed persons dissolve the betrothl, the portion of the bride price already paid is returned. A bridegroom who is too poor to be able to pay the full price serves th father-in-law for a few months as hunter for the remainder ewes.

584 If the father othe girl has stubbornly opposed the courtship, he is finally forcede consent by means of a divine judgment. The lover stealthil creeps into the hut of the old man and ties a • [584] rope of grass arou the wooden honey pot. The father is said /341/ to give his consentegularly then, since otherwise the punishment [584] of God would kill im. In place of this custom, it also happens [584] [471] that the lover secretly takes the girl away, or the latter -- as among the Masai -- flees him without her parents' knowledge.

131 Wife exchangeoccurs, but legal marriage does not arise from it. The women do not remain with the other man for longer than a half to a whole ye. If she feels pregnant before this time, she returns to her husband.

582 [471] Among the Ardhe same marriage obstacles hold as among the Masai, but the gre distances between the individual tiny camps

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000 /footnote 1 continued/ be a substantial therapeutic advance to be recorded here." From "Über Acocanthera Schimperi als Mittel bei Herzkrankheiten/On Acocanthera Schimperi as a Remedy for Heart Ailments." By L. Lewin and E. Gadelmann. From a report delivered to the Berliner medizinischen Gesellschaft /Berlin Medical Society/. Berlin, 1906).

276 324 Although the tree is not rare in the steppe around Kilimandscharo, its poisonous nature nevertheless generally seems to be known only to the Wandorobbo, since other tribes do not manufacture the poison themselves. Thus the former sell it, for example, to the Wadschagga, the Wakuafi of Aruscha (whilst east of Meyerberg /Mt. Meru/, the Wapare, etc. To brew the poison two Wandorobbo always go a few thousand meters away from the camp into the bush. After they have collected branches and roots of Acocanthera abyssinica, they split them into thumb-thick sticks and prepare for the cooking in separate places. The wood is boiled for several hours in an earthen pot that is half filled with river water. Then it is removed, and the liquid obtained is thickened by further cooking to a viscous porridge-like consistency. The finished poison is black and looks like pitch. During its preparation no woman may come either in the vicinity of the poison pot or in that of the man doing the cooking. The woman who brings food and firewood therefore places these objects within calling distance. They believe that the effect of the poison is weakened or entirely destroyed through the contact or even merely the presence of a woman, whose person they, in their naïve beliefs, are unable to separate from the idea of sexual intercourse -- since the latter, according to their view, is an element acting against the poison. The same would be the case if the wife had intercourse with another man during the time the husband is busy preparing the poison, or if the husband cooked the poison while his wife was pregnant. The finished poison is stored in a wooden pot (mafi) or in a leather bag /bat/ (ngoko), and, to be sure, like the quivers with the poisoned arrows, not in the hut, but hung on a tree not far from the camp.